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ABSTRACT

This study was designed to extend discussion of fear of success beyond the college population, using Horner's original coding scheme to examine the thematic imagery of TAT stories told by a cross-section of the public during a survey interview. The data collected from this sample of the general public contrasted in several ways with data gathered among college students. First, the percentage of respondents who told fear of success stories were generally lower among the noncollege population. The groups with a high incidence of fear of success were those most similar to college students. Other findings of researchers studying college students were corroborated: (1) blacks were significantly less likely to tell fear of success stories than whites; (2) males told fear of success stories to a male cue almost as often as females did to a female cue. In this study, women who both feared success and were traditional had significantly larger families than women who either did not fear success or who feared success but were not traditional. There is now under way a more detailed analysis of fear of success among the currently-married white females in the study, aged 18 to 55. (Author/PC)

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FEAR OF SUCCESS: The distribution, correlates, reliability and consequences for fertility of fear of success among respondents in a metropolitan survey population

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August 1974

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In an effort to understand the complicated and often contradictory results of achievement research done with female subjects, Horner has forwarded the concept of a motive to avoid success (Horner, 1968). She contends that women are often conflicted in their achievement striving because of a tendency to avoid success. Horner argues this is because women's achievement strivings are confounded with their affiliative desires: "It may be that females are in fact more anxious than males in testing or achievement-oriented situations because for them not only are there negative consequences, and hence anxiety, associated with failure, but also with success and the implications of success in competitive achievement situations" (Horner, 1968: 15-16). Horner has supported her hypothesis with data gathered for her dissertation: of ninety female college students presented with a written thematic apperception (TAT) cue describing a high-achieving coed named Anne, two-thirds gave stories indicating affiliative loss, unhappiness, or other negative outcome for "Anne." The women telling these "fear of success" stories subsequently tended to have impaired performance in a laboratory competitive situation. Hoffman's careful replication of Horner's procedure found no decline in fear of success imagery among the same student population six years later (Hoffman, 1973).

Despite the importance of the issue of the achievement orientations of women, the generalizability of the work on fear of success to the non-college population has received only sporadic and nonsystematic attention. The current study was designed to extend discussion of fear of success beyond the college population, using Horner's original coding scheme to examine the thematic imagery of TAT stories told by a cross section of the public during a survey interview.

Data collection has taken place in two distinct stages. In the first stage, carried out in 1973, a large survey sample of the residents of the Detroit metropolitan area were interviewed. As part of the questionnaire, respondents were administered a single TAT cue about a high-achieving college student. In Stage Two, carried out this year, white married females aged 18-55 from the first sample were re-interviewed. Three TAT cues about high-achieving women were administered and extensive opinion and background data were gathered. Most of the data presented here are based on the Stage One interview, since the Stage Two data are not yet ready for analysis.

STAGE ONE

As part of a large attitude survey conducted by the Detroit Area Study during the summer of 1973, 576 persons were presented with a TAT cue about a high-achieving college student. Respondents were chosen in a multi-stage probability sample to represent the economic, racial and geographic communities of the greater Detroit metropolitan area. During the interview, respondents told stories to one of two cues, either "Anne has just graduated at the top of her college class" or "John has just graduated at the top of his college class." Two-thirds of all respondents, males and females, were randomly assigned the Anne cue, while the other one-third were assigned the John version. The setting of the successful achievement was switched from "med school" as Horner had it to simply "college" to bring the story situation more within the realm of reality for the non-academic survey respondent. Use of Horner's non-pictoral type of cue, however, was retained; this style is considered especially appropriate for a survey because it does not indicate the race or social status of Anne or John.

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Since in an interview setting, respondents tell their stories orally to an interviewer who records them, there exist many opportunities for bias to enter the procedure. Interviewers were carefully trained to avoid biasing the stories: 1) no spontaneous probing or other remarks on the part of the interviewer were allowed: 2) a standard set of instructions was read verbatim to each respondent; interviewers were allowed to probe only by repeating the question or repeating "Any kind of story is OK or "There are no right or wrong answers; and 3) all comments of both respondent and interviewer were recorded verbatim. The desire to ensure a standard, neutral atmosphere for collecting TATs conflicted with a corresponding need to train interviewers to be as warm and encouraging as possible in order to assist respondents of all backgrounds in the novel task of telling a story to a one-sentence cue. Interviewers were encouraged to be accepting in their manner, however, avoiding bias was the over-riding concern. Despite the necessary rigidity, the stories gathered are very rich, their mean length being twice that of TAT stories gathered in a previous survey (Veroff, et.al., 1960), and only nineteen respondents were unable to come up with a codeable story.

Coding. Once gathered, the stories were typed out so that coding would be blind, that is, not affected by knowledge of the sex, age, race or any other information about the respondent recorded in the interview. All stories were coded by the author and a disinterested male coder. The author was trained in Horner's coding system by Dr. Lois Hoffman, who was herself exhaustively trained by Horner; all ambiguous stories were referred to Hoffman. Coding was carried out according to the present/absent scheme originated by Horner. That is, if any motive to avoid success theme appeared in the story, the story was coded for fear of success.

RESULTS: STAGE ONE DATA

Previous work (Weston and Mednick, 1972), has suggested that race of respondent is likely to affect motivation to avoid success. Table One shows that blacks were less likely to tell fear of success stories than whites. This relation holds irrespective of the respondent's own gender or the gender of the story version. It is of interest that the highest per cent of fear of success stories (50%) was elicited from white males speaking of "Anne," while the lowest per cent (23%) was produced by black females speaking of "John." These data, unlike other research data, do not support the notion that black males, rather than females, fear success. While the sample size is very small for black males, the per cent of fear of success stories is virtually the same for black females speaking of Anne as for black males speaking of John. On the other hand, white females are more likely to tell fear of success stories for John than for Anne; and white males correspondingly tell more fear of success stories for Anne than for John.

Tables Two and Three break down the data in Table One by the level of educational attainment of the respondent for whites and blacks, respectively. Table Two shows a steady increase in fear of success imagery as education increases among white males speaking of Anne, whereas a slight decline appears among white males who received the John cue. White females speaking of Anne were most likely to tell fear of success stories when they themselves were extremely well-educated. It may also be noted that the percentages who fear success are very similar for white males speaking of John and white females speaking of Anne. Only among respondents educated in graduate school is there a

large discrepancy. In Table Three, there is an overall tendency among blacks for fear of success to be more common among the better-educated, with 47% of those respondents educated beyond high school telling fear of success stories compared to 25% of those with less education.

Tables Four and Five reporting respondent's occupation continue this general pattern. Blacks, shown in Table Five, are more likely to tell fear of success stories if they are skilled or white collar workers than if they are blue collar workers, by 46% to 26% overall. And, as shown in Table Four, white males in professional occupations are more likely to tell fear of success stories about Anne but less likely to tell fear of success stories about John. Also paralleling the results concerning education, white females in professional occupations are considerably more likely to tell fear of success stories about Anne than either homemakers or women in lower status jobs. Finally, white females are more likely to tell fear of success stories about John if they are homemakers or lower status workers.

Tables Six and Seven detail the incidence of fear of success imagery controlling for the age of the respondent, indicating a general pattern in which younger people are more likely to evidence fear of success than older people. Overall, then, respondents who are young, well-educated and employed in professional occupations tend most often to indicate a fear of success in their stories about Anne, a finding which holds overall for blacks and whites, although the incidence of fear of success is generally lower for blacks. This suggests that the incidence of fear of success among women in this society is probably exaggerated somewhat, since most studies have as subjects those people most likely to evidence fear of success. Fear of success stories about

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John, on the other hand, are told more by those males with less education and lower status jobs, though they are also told by the young male. Black females rarely tell fear of success stories about a successful John figure, but white females tend more to tell these stories if they are well-educated, young and either staying home or working at low status jobs--women who are possibly under-employed.

In Horner's original study, she found motive to avoid success positively associated with the status of the father's occupation. As Table Eight indicates, white females in this sample are also more likely to fear success if their fathers are professionals, but also if their fathers were skilled workers. The employment status of the respondent's mother makes no difference in these data, which is surprising. More detailed information on mother's occupation has since been gathered, so this variable can be analyzed with greater subtlety.

The remaining tables present data for women only and for only those women who received the Anne cue and can therefore be properly argued to be projecting rather than simply telling a story about a male named John. In some of these tables, fear of success will be tentatively considered as a predictor variable.

The first of these, Table Nine, indicates that women with fear of success, both black and white, are less likely to say they would work if they didn't need the money. [The several sex-role ideology items that were included in the questionnaire were not correlated with fear of success per se [see Tables 18 and 19], a finding which replicates Peplau's work (Peplau, 1973).] A slight tendency was found for fear of success to be more pronounced among women relatively active in formal organizations and also among second-born women. And, as Table Ten shows, women who are

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currently married, or who have never been married are less likely to fear success than women whose marriages have been interrupted by divorce, death or separation.

The effect of marital status is also seen in Table Eleven. Respondents were asked: "If you earned more money than your husband, how likely is it that this would damage your relationship--very likely, somewhat likely or not at all likely?" The responses of married women were related to fear of success in a direction opposite to the predicted direction, whereas among non-married women, the response to this question is in line with the prediction. Perhaps this question is unrealistic or ridiculous to married women. Perhaps, on the other hand, the reality of their fear is better tapped by a projective measure than a direct question. For single women the direct question is really a projective and so might sensibly be better related to another projective measure.

Tables Twelve and Thirteen also explore the marital interactions associated with fear of success. In Table Twelve, a non-significant tendency can be noted such that more women fear success when their educational attainment equals or exceeds that of their husbands, compared with women who are less well-educated than their husbands. A stronger relationship is found when comparing the money earnings of the wife relative to her family's total income. In Table Thirteen, it can be seen that when the wife earns no money, 27% of the wives tell fear of success stories. When she earns a tenth to under six-tenths of family income, 42% tell fear of success stories. When she earns six-tenths or more of the family income, then 61% tell fear of success stories.

The next several tables concern the consequences for fertility of having a fear of success. It was originally hypothesized that women who

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fear success would have more children than women who do not fear success, because pregnancy would be a relatively easy and available escape route from a threatening competitive arena. Table Fourteen indicates that fear of success is significantly and positively related to larger family sizes among whites, a relationship which holds when income and religion are controlled as shown in Tables Sixteen and Seventeen. Interestingly, among blacks fear of success is correlated with smaller families, a relationship which also holds when income is controlled and which holds among non-Catholic blacks when religion is controlled.

This significant interaction was unexpected and the explanations for it are at this point highly speculative. One conjecture is that it may be that black males--not being as threatened by female success as white males, if we accept the data presented in Table One--do not exert the subtle pressures to withdraw from the competitive arena on their wives, that white males may exert. White couples, with their generally larger incomes, can also better afford to allow a pregnant wife to leave employment than black couples can, making pregnancy a more effective way to escape competition for white than for black women.

Finally, pursuing Peplau's finding that fear of success affected competitive behavior only among women with traditional sex-role attitudes, (Peplau, 1973) the joint effect of motive to avoid success and traditional sex-role attitudes was assessed. Tables Eighteen and Nineteen show support for her finding that white women who both fear success and hold traditional attitudes are different from other women. In this case, they have significantly more children than do other women.

Analysis of these data is still proceeding, in conjunction with assessment of the much more detailed data gathered on white, married

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females during the Stage Two interviewing.

STAGE TWO

In this stage, a subsample of the original sample has been re-interviewed to assess the reliability of the TAT measure and to gather more extensive data on the background, ideology, and life style of the respondent. Respondents in Stage Two consist of those white married females aged 18-55 from the first study who assented to be re-interviewed. To increase the size of the sample to over 140, wives of men interviewed in the first study who fit the criteria are also being included in the sample.

Several hypotheses regarding the etiology of fear of success have guided this data-gathering. First, fear of success imagery might be the product of an early socialization in which girls were taught to avoid beating males at all but traditionally feminine tasks. Second, it might be a very rational, realistic description on the part of the story teller of what happens to females when they beat out males. Third, stories filled with unhappy, hostile, frustrated imagery may simply reflect the discontented, aggressive state of the story teller, irrespective of the story cue. And, fourth, fear of success imagery might be the product of a well-developed cognitive capacity--the ability to see the world as truly complex and two-sided. These four hypothesized "causes" of fear of success may all exist, of course, relating to different segments of the population and they are not mutually exclusive.

Another focus of this re-interview effort is examination of the life style consequences of having a tendency to avoid success. This entire examination of the motive to avoid success arose from an initial

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hypothesis that women who fear success would be more likely to experience pregnancies that would serve to remove them from the competitive arena. In general, it is hypothesized that being fearful of the consequences of success will lead to several predictable patterns of behavior, for example, seeking low status or traditional employment, quitting work, being active in traditional forms of voluntary organizations, avoiding positions of leadership, as well as having planned or "accidental" pregnancies that permit escape from threatening achievement contexts. As noted, data from Stage One indicates that women who fear success do indeed have more children than do women who do not fear success. A more detailed examination of the circumstances surrounding these conceptions is now under way.

Table Twenty reports one early result based on Stage Two data. In this table, the TAT story imagery from the Stage One interviews is compared with the story imagery from that same cue in Stage Two. The 41 women are those women who received the Anne story version in Stage One, who are white, married, aged 18 to 56 and who were eventually re-interviewed. It can be seen that 73% of the 41 women told the same type of story (one that either contained or did not contain fear of success imagery) the second time they were interviewed that they did the first time.

SUMMARY

These data from survey interviews with respondents representative of the general public contrast in several ways with data gathered among college students. First, the percentages of respondents who tell fear of success stories are generally lower among the non-college population. The groups that have a high incidence of fear of success are those most

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similar to college students: young, well-educated, with high status occupations. Other findings of researchers studying college students are corroborated. For example, blacks are found to be significantly less likely to tell fear of success stories than whites. In addition, recent findings that males tell fear of success stories to a male cue about as often as females do to a female cue are supported. And the laboratory result that women who both fear success and hold traditional sex-role attitudes are different from women not fearing success and from those who may fear success but who are not traditional was upheld. In this study women who both fear success and who are traditional have significantly larger families than women who either do not fear success or who fear success but are not traditional. Finally, a significant main effect for fertility was hypothesized and observed: white women who fear success have more children than white women who do not fear success, even when religion and family income are controlled. A sub-sample of the first population was later re-interviewed and a more detailed analysis of fear of success among these currently-married white females aged 18 to 55 is now under way.

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FEAR OF SUCCESS: the distribution, correlates, reliability and consequences for fertility of fear of success among respondents in a metropolitan survey population

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Table One: Per Cent of Respondents Telling Stories Containing Fear of Success Imagery, by Sex, Race and Story Version

		White Respondents		Black Respondents	
ANNE VERSION	Females	40%	(151)	31%	(48)
	Males	50%	(126)	30%	(20)
JOHN VERSION	Females	46%	(84)	23%	(30)
	Males	36%	(64)	30%	(10)
N = 533		44%	(425)	29%	(108)

Main effect for race: $\chi^2 = 7.85$
$p < .01$

Table Two: Per Cent of White Respondents Telling Stories Containing Fear of Success Imagery, by Education, Sex of Respondent and Story Version

	WM - Anne	WF - Anne	WM - John	WF - John
Less than High School	33% (30)	43% (42)	46% (11)	37% (19)
High School and Vocational	51% (41)	33% (64)	31% (29)	36% (39)
Some college and college grad	53% (40)	37% (35)	37% (18)	77% (19)
Graduate school or more	73% (15)	90% (10)	33% (6)	25% (4)
N = 425	50% (126)	40% (151)	36% (64)	46% (84)

Anne version, Main effect for sex: $\chi^2 = 2.56$, NS
John version, Main effect for sex: $\chi^2 = 3.28$, $p < .10$

Table Three: Per Cent of Black Respondents Telling Stories Containing Fear of Success Imagery, by Education

	BM - Anne	BF - Anne	BM - John	BF - John	
Less than High School and High School grad	7% (14)	19% (27)	22% (9)	27% (22)	25% (72)
Greater than High School	83% (6)	48% (21)	100% (1)	13% (8)	47% (36)
N = 108	20	48	10	30	

NOTE:

WM - Anne means White Male Respondent, received Anne version
WF - Anne means White Female Respondent, received Anne version
WM - John means White Male Respondent, received John version
WF - John means White Female Respondent, received John version
BM - Anne means Black Male Respondent, received Anne version
BF - Anne means Black Female Respondent, received Anne version
BM - John means Black Male Respondent, received John version
BF - John means Black Female Respondent, received John version

[Due to small and uneven sample sizes among blacks, significance tests are generally reported only for whites.]

Table Four: Per Cent of White Respondents Telling Stories Containing Fear of Success Imagery, by Occupation

	WM - Anne	WF - Anne	WM - John	WF - John
Management, Professional, Technical	58% (50)	69% (16)	26% (23)	20% (10)
Other Employed	40% (53)	40% (45)	43% (35)	53% (30)
Homemakers	———	32% (78)	———	46% (47)
N = 389	(106)	(139)	(67)	(77)

MAIN EFFECT FOR OCCUPATION:

WM - Anne	$\chi^2 = 3.48$	p = .06
WF - Anne	$\chi^2 = 7.56$	p = .02
WM - John	$\chi^2 = 1.69$	p = .19
WF - John	$\chi^2 = 5.37$	p = .18

Table Five: Per Cent of Black Respondents Telling Stories Containing Fear of Success Imagery, by Occupation

	BM - Anne	BF - Anne	BM - John	BF - John	
White Collar and Skilled	50% (8)	54% (11)	33% (3)	25% (4)	46% (26)
Blue Collar	29% (7)	30% (10)	25% (4)	20% (5)	26% (26)
Homemakers	———	11% (18)	———	31% (16)	20% (34)
N = 86	(15)	(39)	(7)	(25)	

Table Six: Per Cent of White Respondents Telling Stories Containing Fear of Success Imagery, by Age

	WM - Anne		WF - Anne		WM - John		WF - John	
18 - 24	71%	(21)	53%	(17)	58%	(12)	59%	(17)
25 - 34	59%	(22)	43%	(40)	13%	(15)	55%	(18)
35 - 49	52%	(31)	39%	(38)	43%	(23)	33%	(18)
50+	37%	(51)	35%	(56)	29%	(14)	38%	(29)
N = 422		(125)		(151)		(64)		(82)

Table Seven: Per Cent of Black Respondents Telling Stories Containing Fear of Success Imagery, by Age

	BM - Anne		BF - Anne		BM - John		BF - John	
18-34	44%	(9)	32%	(25)	60%	(5)	36%	(11)
35+	36%	(11)	36%	(22)	0%	(5)	16%	(19)
N = 107		(20)		(47)		(10)		(30)

Table Eight: Per Cent of White Female Respondents Telling Stories Containing Fear of Success Imagery, by Occupations of Parents

Father's Occupation			Mother's Occupation		
Management, Professional, Technical	48%	(29)	White Collar	42%	(12)
Sales, Clerical	31%	(16)	Blue Collar	38%	(13)
Skilled	49%	(51)	Homemaker	39%	(122)
Operatives, Service, Farm	27%	(45)			
	N = 141			N = 147	

Table Nine: Per Cent of Female Respondents Telling Stories Containing Fear of Success Imagery, by Race and Response to Question WOULD-WORK (Anne Version)
[Question WOULD-WORK: If you didn't need the money that you get when you work, do you think you'd work anyway?]

	White		Black	
Yes, would work (% with M_{-S})	37%	(90)	28%	(32)
No, wouldn't (% with M_{-S})	45%	(60)	38%	(16)
N = 198		(150)		(48)

Table Ten: Per Cent of Female Respondents Telling Stories Containing Fear of Success Imagery, by Race and Marital Status (Anne story version)

	White	Black
Married	36% (100)	20% (15)
Single	38% (18)	29% (7)
Divorced/Separated	57% (14)	40% (15)
Widowed	50% (20)	36% (11)
N = 200	(152)	(48)

Table Eleven: Per Cent of Female Respondents Telling Stories Containing Fear of Success Imagery, by Race and Marital Status, and Response to Question MORE-$ (Anne version)

Question MORE-$: If you earned more money than your husband, how likely is it that this would damage your relationship--very likely, somewhat likely, or not at all likely?

	Currently Married		Not Currently Married	
	White	Black	White	Black
Very Likely	18% (17)	0% (3)	75% (8)	64% (11)
Somewhat or Not at all Likely	41% (81)	25% (12)	43% (40)	19% (21)
N = 193	(98)	(15)	(48)	(32)
	$\chi^2 = 3.22$ $p < .10$	$\chi^2 = .94$ NS	$\chi^2 = 2.82$ $p < .10$	$\chi^2 = 6.36$ $p < .01$

Table Twelve: Per Cent of White Married Female Respondents Telling Stories Containing Fear of Success Imagery, by Education of Respondent Relative to her Husband (Anne version)

Respondent More Educated than Husband	39%	(38)
Wife/Husband Educational Attainments Equal	38%	(37)
Respondent Less Educated than Husband	29%	(24)

N = 99
NS

Table Thirteen: Per Cent of White Married Female Respondents Telling Stories Containing Fear of Success Imagery, by Ratio of Wife's Income to Total Family Income (Anne version)

Ratio of Wife's Income to Total Family Income		
0.00 (wife unemployed)	27%	(59)
0.10 to 0.58	42%	(19)
0.60 to 1.00	61%	(18)

N = 96
$\chi^2 = 7.08$
$p < .03$

Table Fourteen: Mean Number of Children Ever Born or Adopted to White Women who were Ever Mothers, by Motive to Avoid Success (Anne version)

Motive to Avoid Success		
Present	3.09	(46)
Absent	2.49	(72)
		(118)

F Statistic = 2.93
$p < .02$

Table Fifteen: Mean Number of Children Ever Born or Adopted to Women Ever Married, by Race and Motive to Avoid Success (Anne version)

Motive to Avoid Success	White		Black	
Present	3.09	(46)	2.42	(12)
Absent	2.51	(71)	3.60	(25)

F Statistic = 2.93
$p < .04$

Table Sixteen: Mean Number of Children Ever Born to Females, Controlling for Race and Family Income, by Presence/Absence of Motive to Avoid Success (Anne Version)

	Low Income (< $9,000)				High Income (≥ $9,000)			
	Black		White		Black		White	
Motive to Avoid Success:								
Present	2.4	(9)	3.0	(12)	2.0	(4)	3.1	(34)
Absent	3.9	(17)	2.6	(25)	2.5	(12)	2.4	(47)
N = 160		(26)		(37)		(16)		(81)
	t = 1.46 p < .20		t = .73 NS		t = .61 NS		t = 2.25 p < .05	

Table Seventeen: Mean Number of Children Ever Born to Females, Controlling for Race and Religion, by Presence/Absence of Motive to Avoid Success (Anne Version)

	Catholics				Non-Catholics			
	Black		White		Black		White	
Motive to Avoid Success:								
Present	4.0	(2)	3.5	(15)	2.0	(11)	2.9	(31)
Absent	2.0	(5)	2.5	(27)	3.7	(23)	2.5	(45)
N = 159		(7)		(42)		(34)		(76)
	t = 1.54 p < .20		t = 2.12 p < .05		t = 2.24 p < .05		t = 1.22 NS	

Tables Eighteen & Nineteen: Mean Number of Children Ever Born or Adopted for White Females Who Were Ever Mothers, by Presence/Absence of Motive to Avoid Success and Sex Role Ideology (Anne Version)

Table Eighteen

A girl on a tennis date should play...

	...as well as her partner, or more poorly		...as well as she can		
	(Cell One)				
M-s Present	3.7	(14)	2.8	(32)	48
M-s Absent	2.4	(25)	2.4	(44)	69
	39		76		N = 115

F-Test for Cell One against other cells:
F-Statistic = 10.567
p = .002

Table Nineteen

Efforts to eliminate sex discrimination in employment are moving...

	...much too fast, too fast, about right		...too slow, much too slow		
	(Cell One)				
M-s Present	3.2	(25)	2.7	(19)	44
M-s Absent	2.5	(37)	2.5	(31)	68
	62		50		N = 112

F-Test for Cell One against other cells:
F-Statistic = 4.118
p = .045

Table Twenty: Reliability of TAT measure from First Interview to Second Interview for White, Married Females. Story cue, summer 1973: Anne has just graduated at the top of her college class. Story cue, 1974 re-interview: Mary has just graduated at the top of her college class.

Mary Version (1974)

Anne Version (1973)		M-s Present	M-s Absent	
	M-s Present	10	7	17
	M-s Absent	4	20	24
		14	27	N = 41

Per Cent of Respondents Telling Same Type of Story in 1974 as in 1973: 73 %

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APPENDIX ONE: page from Stage One Questionnaire that was read to respondents and on which the interviewer recorded the respondent's thematic apperception story

OK. This next section is quite different from the part we've just completed.

First, I'm going to read you a sentence about someone and I'd like you to tell a story about this person. For example, I might say to you "David is looking out the window," and you would tell me a story describing who David is, what he's looking at, how he feels, and so on.

Any kind of story is OK -- we're just interested in getting as complete a story as possible, one with a beginning and an end. There are no right or wrong answers.

OK, I'd like you to make up a story about (John/Anne). (HAND R CARD 25 AND READ ALOUD.)

(John/Anne) has just graduated at the top of (his/her) college class.

Make up a story about (John/Anne) -- who (he/she) is, how (he/she) feels, what will happen next, and so on. Remember, your story can be of any kind and there are no right or wrong answers. You can take a minute to think, if you like, then I'll ask you some questions about your story. (PAUSE A MOMENT, AS LONG OR SHORT A TIME AS APPROPRIATE.)

(REPEAT CARD 25 ALOUD:)

(John/Anne) has just graduated at the top of (his/her) college class.

(READ FIRST STORY PROBE. RECORD FULLY.) ——

Who is (John/Anne)? How does (he/she) feel?

What went on before? What has led up to this?

What does (John/Anne want)? What is (he/she) thinking?

What will happen? How will it all come out?

Anything else?

SAMPLE TAT STORIES TOLD BY DETROIT RESPONDENTS

(Instructions, story cues, and story probes will be found on the previous page.)

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Anne is the girl next door. She feels very happy because it's all over.

Anne studied very hard, never went out. She was what you call a bookworm, never dated.

She's thinking about the future, how she's going to make it in the business world.

She'll probably get married and never get a job.

That's it.

Anne is just a normal girl from an average family. Had the advantage of going to college, did terrific. Ambition is to do her very best and make good of her college career. [How does she feel?] Very happy since she came from an average, normal middle class family -- no money, etc. Did it all on her own.

Lived a normal life; had usual outside activities, dated, etc. She strived, had to get what she wanted.

Making the best of her college career -- to be a good nurse, do what is right, help other people.

As hard as she strived, she'll make good of her life and continue doing good.

No.

Anne is just a little girl. She's filled proud.

She had a hard life.

The future.

Comes out good if she works hard for it.

Have a happy life if she works hard. Life is so hard.

Anne is a younger daughter who had to pay her own way through college. She is especially proud because her work didn't hurt her grades. She is happy because she knows that her family will be proud of her, and she will be able to help them now. She is lucky that she can read easily. Some people read hard and so have trouble in school.

She worked as a waitress and as a secretary for the whole time. In her senior year she money from the school. It was a little school, though. She didn't get much time to date.

Anne wants to be a doctor, and will try to go to medical school. She is sorry that it is going to take so much more time.

She will get to be a doctor, but will be unhappy because the man she marries will resent all the money she makes and the time she has to spend with other people. She will only have one child, and it will get spoiled.